# THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

Vol. 1, No. 24. CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MARCH 4, 1905. Price, 5 Cents.


## LABOR'S LONG STRUGGLE WITH CAPITAL

No. 13.

From 1873 to 1876 many strikes occurred in the cotton and woolen mills of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. In many of these places the employes had no organization, but after striking they proceeded to form themselves into unions.

These unions were later merged into assemblies of the Knights of Labor. By 1877 the industries of the country were becoming somewhat relieved from the long depression which had prevailed since the beginning of the panic of 1873. The working people had suffered four years of low wages, with all their consequent evils; millions of men and women had been unable to obtain employment at any price, and tens of thousands of families were suffering for neccessities of life.

Great strikes occurred in all parts of the union, especially in the states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. The coal miners in the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania suffered the very pangs of hunger—men, women and children; many of them were reduced to such wretched straits that they dwelt in tents in communities, being cast out of ther wretched hovels by the owners because they had no money with which to pay rent.

It was in 1877 that the rumblings of a real labor struggle were first heard in America. This was the great railroad strike of 1877. It began on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and was caused by a 10 per cent reduction in the wages of the employes.

The reduction was to go into effect Monday, July 16th. A circular to this effect, created intense indignation among the employes. Meetings were held at different points along the road, and a plan of action agreed upon.

A committee was appointed to confer with officers of the company. The vice president was appealed to, but he refused to meet them. Upon learning this fact many men were in favor of striking at once; some dissented, and the strike was deferred until July 16th. The railway officials had anticipated a strike and were partly prepared for it, but as the day wore on dispatches were received from the different stations along its fourteen hundred miles of railway that all was quiet, and they became rather reassured, believing that the hard times would deter the men from quitting work. However, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th, about forty-five of the firemen at Camden Junction quit their engines and persuaded a number of brakemen to join them. About 6 p. m. word was received that the railroad men at Cumberland, Martinsburg and other places were discontented and threatening to strike. The next day, the 17th, many strikes occurred in Baltimore, and demands were made for an increase of 10 per cent in wages. The canal boatmen quit their work and abandoned their boats. This materially affected the railroad men. Late in the evening the general strike was set on foot at Martinsburg. All trains were side-tracked, while those firemen and brakemen who evinced an intention to remain on their engines were forced to leave them by the strikers. At Geyser and Grafton the trainmen had gained complete control, and no freight trains moved. The vice president of the road telegraphed to the governor of West Virginia for militiamen, and, as is the case at the present time, troops were quickly sent. At Martinsburg one engineer was found willing to take out his engine, but when he was ready to do so his wife mounted his cab and persuaded him to leave it, and the firemen followed. At Baltimore the excitement had become intense. While a company of militia were marching through the streets, which were packed with people—men, women and children—without a moment's warning they fired into the crowd. Many were seen to drop; women screamed and fainted in the streets, and children mingled their piercing shrieks with the outcry of horror! The uniformed murderers marched on unconcerned, leaving dead and dying in the streets. When they had proceeded about two blocks and were opposite the American newspaper a halt was called, and another volley poured into the people, which was received with cries of agony, threats and jeers. Paving stones were torn up and hurled into the ranks of the militia. They again took up their march and another fusillade left more dead and dying in the streets. But a day of retaliation was not far distant.

L. E. P.

(Continued next week.

### THE COAL SITUATION.

It is said that the United States Steel Corporation is playing an important part in the bituminous controversy and that prior to the Indianapolis convention pressure will be brought to bear upon Henry C. Frick and other officials of the steel trust to induce them to remove the barriers they are said to have placed in the way of a settlement with the men. It is stated that the big corporation desires to break Mitchell's hold upon the miners.

The Steel Corporation has a contract with the Pittsburg Coal company for 6,500,000 tons of soft coal a year, this production to be increased to 10,000,000 tons within the next ten years. This contract was made through Mr. Robbins, and one of its provisions prohibits the Steel Corporation from operating its own soft coal territory during the term of the contract. It is contended that Mr. Frick is desirous of being released from this contract, believing that if a strike were ordered and the union went to pieces much better terms might be made for the coal used by this corporation.

BOISE, Idaho, Feb. 26.—Attorney James H. Hawley, chief counsel for the prosecution in the cases against Moyer and Haywood had a stormy interview with Governor Gooding today, and threatens to resign because the governor refuses to give the miners' officials better treatment in prison. Hawley also says that the statement made by Gooding yesterday as to Orchard's confession to twenty-six murders was "wild."

The above item "lets the cat out of the bag" completely. What do the "great" captains of industry care if men are forced by hard, grinding conditions to lose work—strike—and, in consequence, women suffer and little children cry for bread? They are piling up their untold millions, and are "God-fearing Christians." Is not that sufficient.

In the name of justice, what must be the treatment accorded our brothers when an attorney threatens to resign because of it!

We have heard a good deal lately about the cruelty of Russian officials toward prisoners. What about America?

DENVER, Feb. 26.—"It looks oppression of the weak by the strong and of the general movement by capital to overthrow the strength of organized labor," said Clarence S. Darrow today of the murder charges against officials of the Western Federation of Miners. Mr. Darrow was retained by labor organizations in the east to assist in the defense of the federation officials.

### LOOK OUT FOR BLUE PENCIL MARK.

All subscribers finding a *blue mark* on the wrapper of their paper, *must renew immediately* or their names will be dropped from the list.

Plan your work, then work your plan.

## THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

### ALBERT R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

"What must be the thought of the oppressed in foreign lands when they hear the tramp of the militia beneath the folds of the stars and stripes? They who first hung this flag to the breeze, proclaimed that beneath its folds the oppressed of all lands would find a refuge and a haven and protection against the despotism of all lands. Is this the case today when the counter-tramp of two millions of homeless wanderers is heard throughout the land of America; men strong and able and anxious and willing to work, that they may purchase for themselves and their families food; when the cry of discontent is heard from the working classes everywhere, and they refuse longer to starve, and peaceably accept a rifle diet and die in misery according to law, and order is enforced by this military drill? Is this military drill for the purpose of sweeping them down as a mob with grape and canister upon the street?" This is the language of the speaker at the meeting: "We working people hear these ominous rumblings, which create inquiry as to their origin. A few years ago we heard nothing of this kind; but great changes have taken place during the past generation. Charles Dickens, who visited America forty years ago, said that what surprised him most was the general prosperity and equality of all people, and that a beggar upon the streets of Boston would create as much consternation as an angel with a flaming sword. What of Boston today? Last winter, said a correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, writing from that city, 30,000 persons were destitute, and there were whole streets of tenement houses where the possession of a cooking stove was regarded as a badge of aristocracy, the holes of which were rented to other less wealthy neighbors for a few pennies per hour.

"So, too, with New York, Chicago and every other industrial center in this broad land. Why is this? Have we had a famine? Has nature refused to yield her harvest? These are grave and serious questions for us, the producers and sufferers, to consider, at least. Take a glance at the wealth of this country. In the past twenty years it has increased over twenty billions of dollars. Into whose hands has this wealth found its way? Certainly not the hands of the producers, for if it had there would be no need for street-riot drills. This country has a population of 55,000,000, and a statistical compilation shows that there are in the cities of New York, Philadelphia and Boston twenty men who own as their private property over $750,000,000, or about one-twenty-sixth of the entire increase which was produced by the labor of the working class, these twenty individuals being as one in three millions. In twenty years these profit-mongers have fleeced the people of the enormous sum of $750,000,000, and only three cities and twenty robbers heard from. A government that protects this plundering of the people, a government which permits the people to be degraded and brought to misery in this manner is a fraud upon the face of it, no matter under what name it is called, or what flag floats over it; whether it be a republic or a monarchy, or an empire," said the speaker. "The American flag protects as much economic despotism as any other flag on the face of the earth today to the ratio of population. This being the case, of what does the boasted freedom of the American workingmen consist? Our fathers used to sing,

'Come along, come along; make no delay;
Come from every nation, come from every way;
Come along, come along; don't be alarmed—
Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm.'

The stars and stripes in those days floated upon every water as the emblem of the free, but today it obeys only the command, and has become the ensign of monopoly and of corporations, of those who grind the faces of the poor and rob and enslave the laborer. Could Russia do more than drill in its streets to kill the people? But alas! Americans creep and crawl at the foot of wealth and adore the golden calf. Can a man amass millions without despoiling the labor of others? We all know he cannot. American workingmen seem to be degenerat-seem to be degenerating. They do not seem to understand what liberty and freedom really consist of. They shout themselves hoarse on election day—for what? For the miserable privilege of choosing their master; which man shall be their boss and rule over them; for the privilege of choosing just who are the bosses and who shall govern them. Great privilege! These Americans—sovereigns — millions of them do not know where they could get a bed or a supper. Your ballot—what is it good for? Can a man vote himself bread, or clothes, or shelter, or work? In what does American wage slaves' freedom consist? The poor are the slaves of the rich everywhere. The ballot is neither a protection against hunger nor against the bullets of the military. Bread, is freedom; freedom bread. The ballot is no protection against the bullets of those who are practicing the street-riot drills in Chicago. The ballot is worthless to the industrial slave under these conditions. The palaces of the rich overshadow the homes or huts of the poor, and we say with Victor Hugo, that the paradise of the rich is made out of the hells of the poor. The whole force of the organized power of the government is thrown against the workers, whom the so-called better class denominates a mob. Now, when the workers of America refuse to starve according to law and order, and when they begin to think and act, why, the street drill begins. The enslavers of labor see the coming storm. They are determined, cost what it may, to drill these people and make them their slaves by holding in their possession the means of life as their property, and thus enslave the producers. Workingmen—we mean women, too—arise! Prepare to make and determine successfully to establish the right to live and partake of the bounties to which all are equally entitled. Agitate, organize, prepare to defend your life, your liberty, your happiness against the murderers who are practicing the street-riot drill on Thanksgiving day.

"'Tis the shame of the land that the earnings of toil,
Should gorge the god Mammon, the tyrant, the spoiler,
Every foot has a logical right to the soil,
And the product of toil is the meed of the toiler.

The hands that disdain
Honest industry's stain
Have no share in its honor, no right to its gain,
And the falsehoods of Wealth over Worth shall not be
In 'the home of the brave and the land of the free.'"

Now, I challenge your honor, to find a sentence or an utterance in that meeting—and that is one of the fullest reported of the many meetings held by the American Group for public discussion of such matters as the Thanksgiving drill of the First Regiment—I challenge you to find a single word or utterance there that is unlawful, that is contrary to the constitution, or that is in violation of free speech, or of the right of self-defense. And that is our position, and has been all the while. Imagine for a moment, the First Regiment practicing the street-riot drill as it was described—learning how to sweep four streets from the four corners at once. Who? The *Tribune* and *Times* say "the mob." Who are the mob? Why, dissatisfied people, dissatisfied workingmen and women; people who are working for starvation wages, people who are on a strike for better pay—these are the mob. They are always the mob. That is what the riot drill is for. Suppose a case like that occurs. The First Regiment is out with a thousand men armed with the latest improved Winchester rifles. Here are the mob; here are the Knights of Labor and the Trades Unions, and all of the organizations without arms. They have no treasury, and a Winchester rifle costs $18. They cannot purchase those things. We cannot organize an army. It takes capital to organize an army. It takes as much money to organize an army as to organize an industry, or as to build railroads; therefore, it is impossible for the working classes to organize and buy Winchester rifles. What can they do? What must they do? Your honor, the dynamite bomb, I am told, costs six cents. It can be made by anybody. The Winchester rifle costs $18. That is the difference. Am I to be blamed for that? Am I to be hanged for saying this? Am I to be destroyed for this? What have I done? Go, dig up the ashes of the man who invented this thing. Find his ashes and scatter them to the winds, because he gave this power to the world. It was not I. General Sheridan—he is the comander in chief of the United States army, and in his report to the president and congress two years ago he had occasion to speak of the possible labor trouble that may occur in the country, and what did he say? In this report he says that dynamite was a lately discovered article of tremendous power, and such was its nature that people could carry it around in the pockets of their clothing with perfect safety to themselves, and by means of it they could destroy whole cities and whole armies. This was General Sheridan. That is what he said. We quoted that language, and referred to it. I want to say another word about dynamite before I pass on to something else. I am called a dynamiter. Why? Did I ever use dynamite? No. Did I ever have any? No. Do I know anything about dynamite bombs? No. Why, then, am I called a dynamiter? Listen, and I will tell you. Gunpowder in the fifteenth century marked an era in the world's history. It was the downfall of the mail armor of the knights, the freebooter, and the robber of that period. It enabled the victims of these highway robbers to stand off at a distance in a safe place and defend themselves by the use of gunpowder, and make a ball enter and pierce into the flesh of their robbers and destroyers. Gunpowder came as a democratic instrument. It came as a republican institution, and the effect was that it immediately began to equalize and bring about an equilibrium of power. There was less power in the hands of the nobility after that; less power in the hands of those who would plunder and degrade and destroy the people after that.

So today dynamite comes as the emancipator of man from the domination and enslavement of his fellowman. (The judge showed symptoms of impatience.) Bear with me now. Dynamite is the diffusion of power. It is democratic; it makes everybody equal. General Sheridan says "arms are worthless." They are worthless in the presence of this instrument. Nothing can meet it. The Pinkerton, the police, the militia, are absolutely worthless, in the presence of dynamite. They can do nothing with the people at all. It is the equilibrium. It is the annihilator. It is the disseminator of power. It is the downfall of oppression. It is the abolition of authority; it is the dawn of peace; it is the end of war, because war cannot exist unless there is something to make war upon, and dynamite makes that unsafe, undesirable and absolutely impossible. It is a peace-maker; it is man's best and last friend; it emancipates the world from the domineering of the few over the many, because all government, in the last resort, is violence; of law, in the last resort, is force. Everything is based upon force. Force is the law of the universe; force is the law of nature, and this newly discovered force makes all men equal and therefore free. It is idle to talk of rights when one does not posses the power to enforce them. Science has now given every human being that power. It is proposed by the prosecution here to take me by force and strangle me on the gallows for these things I have said, for these expressions. Now, force is the last resort of tyrants; it is the last resort of despots and of oppressors, and he who would strangle another because that other does not believe as he would have him, he who will destroy another because that other will not do as he says, that man is a despot and a tyrant and unworthy to live.

Now, I speak plainly; I speak as an Anarchist; I speak as a Socialist; I speak as a wage slave, a workingman. Does it follow, because I hold these views, that I committed this act at the Haymarket? Does that follow? Why, you might just as consistently charge General Phil. Sheridan with the act, and for the same reason, for while he did not go into the matter perhaps as extensively in his ecomium upon dynamite as I have done, yet he furnished me the text from which I have drawn my knowledge of this thing.

(Continued next week.)


NOW FOR THE

## NECKTIE PARTY

THE FUNNIEST, MOST UNIQUE ENTERTAINMENT THE LIBERATOR HAS EVER GIVEN.

Every gentlemen is to have a beautiful new tie. Every lady attending will please bring an apron for herself and a tie to match. When they are all in the fun is to begin. The Necktie party will be held at 55 N. Clark St., in Union Hall, Saturday evening, March 10. Good music and a fine programme are on the list. Don't fail to attend.

# THE LIBERATOR

A Weekly Devot 1 to Revolutionary Propaganda Along Lines of Anarchistic Thought.

Published by
LIBERATOR PUBLISHING GROUP.

EDW. GREENBAUM, Sec'y,
466 Van Buren St.

Subscriptions $1.00 per year in advance. Six months, 50c. Single copies each.

LUCY E. PARSONS, Editor,
466 W. Van Buren St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as second class matter.

The Editor does not necessarily indorse all views expressed by contributors but as THE LIBERATOR is a free Forum we invite and welcome contributions upon all subjects pertaining to liberalism.

Personalities will be rigidly excluded; we are working for the good of humanity at large.

All who send in communications for publication in The Liberator must send a self-addressed and stamped envelope, if they wish it returned, in case of rejection.


Notice to Correspondents—Write your articles on one side of paper, in *plain hand*, with *ink*. If you wish article returned in case of rejection, send self-addressed and stamped envelope.

We are receiving many subscriptions, where every word is perfectly legible except the most material ones, viz., the name and address of sender. This is probably the cause often of the paper's failure to reach the subscribers regularly, so please be careful when sending in name.

## TRIP EAST.

COMRADES AND FRIENDS, ATTENTION. It is my intention of making a propaganda trip East in a few weeks. I wish to visit a number of cities to deliver lectures and try to get subscribers for "THE LIBERATOR". This paper is doing a great deal of good. No one appreciates this fact more than I do. The work which the Liberator Group and the editor have put into the paper the last six months has been hard and laborious, and it would be a pity for all their efforts to be wasted because of the lack of a few more dollars per week. Therefore I request comrades to arrange meetings and socials at which I will speak.

I will deliver the following lectures:

"Curse of Child Labor."
"The Industrial Workers of the World; Their Aims and Objects."
"The Colorado Outrage."
"Anarchism Defined."

I will also speak in one or two cities at Commune celebrations. Nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to offer my tribute of admiration to that grand and noble character of the Commune, Louise Michel. Comrades, will you kindly communicate with me just as soon as possible. I wish to leave Chicago about March 15th.

LUCY E. PARSONS.

## SORE HEADS!

A word about this paper: THE LIBERATOR has not been issued for the past two weeks. During that time we have received many letters of anxious inquiry regarding the paper's non-apeparance.

Some of the letters were pessimistic, declaring it to be impossible to keep an Anarchist paper alive. Others were just plain kickers, who couldn't understand why they didn't receive their paper regularly, "when I have paid my subscription of 50c," etc., just as though THE LIBERATOR had a steady income and a solid financial basis. It never seems to occur to these comrades that if each subscriber would interest themselves in securing a few others and sending in the names and money that THE LIBERATOR could and would come regularly. Let each subscriber constitute themselves an agent for the paper and see how soon it will be on a good basis.

To the pessimistically inclined we wish to state that the success of the paper has been satisfactory to all directly concerned with its management. When we come to consider that the paper started out without a single dollar in the treasury; that we had to pass the hat to get money for the first issue, and the next, and the next, and for many succeeding issues, and these collections were from comrades and sympathizers, still THE LIBERATOR has lived for six months and doesn't owe one dollar for printer's bills. In addition to our poverty, we met with antagonism from many, even before the paper was issued at all. A small clique of so-cal'ed Anarchists did everything in their power to prevent the paper from coming out; even going so far as to write letters around the country advising comrades *not to send in money*, and predicting that only one or two issues would come out, and that these would only be for the purpose of "spite work." This same little clique is still doing everything in its little contemptible way to down THE LIBERATOR, but the majority of the Anarchists in Chicago, we are pleased to state, are sensible people and capable of reasoning, hence they are coming to understand that the only way to succeed and carry on any effective propaganda and educational work is by working in harmony, so they are coming together in our meetings and socials on friendly terms as sensible comrades should. The little "bunch" of soreheads will soon be left alone to nurse their own little boils.

And, too, the circulation of THE LIBERATOR is satisfactory, all things considered. We have subscribers in practically every state in the union; there is not a day passes but we receive requests for "sample copies," many of these bringing to us subscribers. A very large percentage of our subscribers are new people to our movement; we have a very few who came to us from the "Free Society" list.

These are the bare facts of the past. What of the future? We shall need a great many more subscribers before the paper can possibly be self-supporting, hence we shall have to depend upon comrades and friends sending in contributions, giving entertainments, etc., to keep the paper alive, but if THE LIBERATOR can exist another six months, and do as well as it has the past six months, it will be but little burden to anyone, because it will then be self-supporting. Hence we urge all friends to assist us by trying to circulate the paper and by sending in donations, it matters not how small, and also send in names of persons whom you think might subscribe. We will send sample copies to them.

L. E. P.

## THE PROPOSED SLAUGHTER.

Is it to be another slaughter of innocent workingmen like the one which took place in Chicago twenty years ago, at the behest of the capitalistic class, who wished to put men out of the way whom they regarded as dangerous to their reign of robbery?

The conspiracy entered into by the Mine Owners' association of the states of Colorado and Idaho, acting through their tools, the governors of the above named states, in kidnaping Charles H. Moyer, William D. Haywood and Pettibone, and spiriting them out of the state of Colorado when the shadows of night had fallen, when no one might witness the conspiracy save the armed conspirators, savors so much of deeds of "dark ages," long, long gone by, that one in reading it in this twentieth century is forced to tap one's self on the forehead and shake one's self, so to speak, to make sure that they are not dreaming! What, pray, in the face of such an infamy becomes of the boasted rights of American citizens under its constitution? If such an outrage had been perpetrated in a foreign country the American navy would have been set in motion, and diplomatic relations would have been "strained"; "Teddy" would be talking loudly about the "fights" of American citizens. But how different we all this is when the rights of the American citizen are ruthlessly set aside by the czars of his own country, if he happens to belong to the working class!

There is such a similarity between the present "great dynamite conspiracy," now being staged for action in Idaho, and that conducted by the capitalistic class in the "Anarchists' trial" in Chicago nearly twenty years ago, that a brief recapitulation is not out of place. In the present case, as in the former, the Pinkerton lying thug bobs up with his "evidence"; then there are other detectives, of less humorous degrees, to be used as supernumeraries in filling out the less important parts of the tragedy; in the present, as in the former case, dynamite bombs have been planted by the "conspirators" and conveniently found by the detectives, and too, like the former case, the "conspiracy" is to date back a few years. This is done to keep the public in breathless expectancy, like the clown in the circus who announces in clarion tones the wonders soon to be brought forth!

The governor of Idaho, chief clown just now, begins to talk loudly about "a conspiracy that is going to shock civilization." This is decidedly a la mode Bondfield, Shack, Grinell, etc.

People of America, citizens, brothers and sisters, lovers of liberty and justice, are you going to stand idly by and see these men murdered by the Mine Owners' association of the states of Idaho and Colorado because they want them out of the way—because they are "troublesome characters"? If you do not wish to see American soil again stained with the blood of innocent workingmen; if you do not wish to again hear the sound of the accursed gallows as it strangles their voices and forever silences them, then waste not an hour, bestir your selves! Act now! Iset your voices be heard in protest from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Maine to Mexico; serve notice upon the murderous capitalistic class that you will not again stand idly by and see your brothers made victims because they so will it, *and they will dare not do it!* Show by your action, your strength and your *determination* that the people are more powerful than a few rich conspirators.

L. E. P.

The good church people of Chicago, having lost faith in Chief Collins' army of police clubbers to supress crime in this city, now propose to appeal to the great chief, the great God himself. What an oversight! That is all the Almighty was waiting for, just to receive a word from Chicago. All the criminals (of the common kind) will pack their grips and move.

## WHAT MAKES DESPOTS?

### Growth of the Power of the Executive.

The recent growth of the authority of the president of the United States, the increase of his perogative, has been realized more clearly by foreigners than by ourselves. Bjornsterne Bjornson, discussing the question of a monarchy or republic for Norway, said: "We might as well have a democratic kingship, like that of England, as an autocratic presidency, like that of the United States."

It is a jest in earnest when the press talks of "Princess Alice" and humorous balads sing of "good King Theodore." The people are lodging more and more power with the executive. We have well entered into the phase which was the prelude of the Roman empire, which was the twilight of the states general of France, which preceded the tyrannies of the Pisistratidae in Athens and the Dionysii of Syracuse. Which is not repeating the threadbare statement, the trite prediction, that we are verging into a monarchy.

This prediction has been made and the danger ascribed to the machinations of our privileged classes. We should pause, and, reading by the light of the past, take counsel lest by the very means we adopt to fight the privileged classes we follow the road of other republics, that we suffer the misfortune that changed monarchies into despotisms. Full often in his own person the popular liberator has become a new despot, like Rienzi, and the fight of the commalty against the noble ended in the erasing of commons and nobles and the emerging of a Louis XIV.

The peculiarity of the strengthening of the central power lodged in the hands of one man in the beginning it has come about by the voice of the common people, that it has been through the struggles of the proletariat and not by the desire of the aristocracy. Even the tyrants of the Greek cities won their power by the support of the rabble and it was the nobility that felt the yoke, the nobility that finally unified them. The educated classes who wrote the histories and tinged our ideas of these tyrants were the enemies of these men because they came into power through the desire of the commonalty. The diatribes against the Dionysii, Damocles and their mutitudinous ilk show is that these tyrants were in reality popular favorites, heroes halfway between the Folks and La Follettes and the Crokers and Hinkey Dinks—more like the former than the latter, usually.

The empire came to Rome, absolutism came in France, because the people combined with the consule or kings to break the strength of patricians and nobles. It was the plebs who offered the crown to Caesar. It was the patricians who slew him. It was the army, sons of the common people, who used to elect the imperators, the emperors. The favorite comparison of our present course with the last days of the Roman republic is entirely unhistorical. The prediction that the privileged classes will turn us into an empire because they made Rome an empire is basically wrong, because it was not the privileged classes that turned Rome into an empire, but the common people.

In mediaeval France, that freest of mediaeval nations, to escape the oppression of the feudal lords, the people, the bourgeois, the free cities, nobles, the common people intrust against the enemy of both. The French king was little more than the duke of the Isle of France, that small domain which he ruled personally. The great lords of Burgundy, Brittany, Picardy and other chiefs were almost upon an equality with him. In order to fight the rect with him, exchange courtesies, ed all their rights and immunities to the king. They saw that if he were stronger the nobles would be weaker. The nobles were not servants and bulwarks of the throne, as they became later, but rivals. The great trades guilds, the free cities, the legislative asembly of the states general, did not cease to be because the kingship absorbed their privileges by insidious design. Their rights were voluntarily made over to the king with the result that, when the nobles were subdued, he only remained.

There has been a decided growth of the power of our president. As great combinations of capital have arisen, able to frustrate law and legislation, the common people have turned, as ever before in history, to the central power. By the desire of the people, the president's perogative is greater than that of any European monarch, except Nicholas, Wilhelm and Abdul. The foreign press no longer allude to him as our president, but as our "ruler." Foreign courts treat dicutive in order to diminish the confer gifts upon his family, as upon another royalty. His acts are as little subject to review as are those of a king. He sets up and puts down like a very monarch. By the voice of the people!

It is the people trying to break modern feudalism as ancient feudalism was broken. Losing confidence in congress, unable to exact responsibility from that body of hundreds of members, they appeal to one man.

That this contemporary phenomenon will have the ancient result let us not assume to say. We will doubtless stop the progression. Modern feudalism hasn't the strength of ancient feudalism. History is made faster now than it was in the past. The fight of king and people against nobles in Spain and England did not reach the point of absolutism. Whatever the future may have in store, we have at least repeated history to the extent of increasing the power of the executive in order to diminish the power of the privileged classes. The power and personal responsibility of the president will increase until the power of great capitalistic combinations decreases. Thus far will our president tread in the path of Julius Caesar.—Wardon Allan Curtis, in Chicago Daily News of Feb. 19.

## THE LIBERATOR PARTY, MARCH 10th.

**Every lady will please bring an apron for herself and a necktie to match to our party, March 10th, at 55 N. Clark St. Lots of fun!**

**Subscribe for The Liberator.**

## LABOR OPENS WAR ON INJUNCTIONS.

### Typographical Union No. 16 Launches League to Carry on the Struggle.

Asking the cooperation of all the labor unions in the country, Typographical Union No. 16 yesterday launched an anti-injunction league, with the purpose of opening a general fight against the issuance of restraining court writs during the times of strikes and other labor troubles. In connection with the move President Wright and Edward E. Bessette, who are under jail sentences, were hailed as "injunction victims."

The federation of labor will be asked to promote the league, and, if possible, make it national in its scope. As a preliminary step, however, the printers authorized a committee of five to draw up a plan of action. It is probable that the movement will follow politieal line This was indicated by the resolution, which read:

Resolved, That the president appoint a committee of five to draw up a plan of forming an anti-injunction league, the sole purpose of which shall be to compel every candidate for office, without regard to political affiliations, either national, state or municipal, to place himself on record as opposed to the injunction as applied to trades unions, to the end that freedom of thought, action, and speech, the foundations of American institutions, may be allowed the fullest latitude both in the case of employer and employe, as contemplated in the constitution.

The league will start, it is expected, with a membership of 75,000 trade unionists in Chicago. It was declared by the printers that more than 50 per cent of the labor organizations in the country have been enjoined during strikes. These have a membership of close to a million men and women. If allied in action, it was said, a strong political force might be exerted against the issuance of labor injunctions.

The printers' meeting was strongly "anti-injunction" in spirit. The walls of Ulrich's hall, 27 N. Clark Street, where the meeting was held, were hung with banners and legends attacking Judge Holdom, the author of the writ against the compositors and also the injunction itself. One banner above the chairman's table proclaimed "Free speech and trial by jury."

President Wright and Edward Bessette, who, it is expected, will be committed to jail this week, were cheered when they spoke, and the former frequently was interrupted by applause, especially when he asserted his willingness to "spend thirty days in jail for the benefit of the injunction system."

In a spirit of humor one printer proposed that the union petition for an injunction, restraining employers from giving the names of their employes to the publishers of the city directory.

### Tugmen to Convene.

Nearly 5,000 workers in ports on the great lakes will be represented in a conference with tug and dredge owners tonight at the Sherman house. Besides the Tug Firemen and Linesmen, who are seeking a reduction of hours, delegates from the steam shovel and dredgemen, licensed tugmen, dredge firemen, and deck hands and scowmen will participate in the meeting. During the next three weeks new wage scales will be framed for all the 50,000 men engaged in occupations on the lakes from Buffalo to Duluth.

## $20.00 FOR THE LIBERATOR.

Lynn, Feb. 24th, 1906.

Liberator's Comrades:—I will inform you of the Ball we've had lately and the benefit which was destined exclusively for the Liberator, $20.00.

Social Educational Club.
Lynn, Mass.

If comrades and friends in other cities would emulate the example set by our Lynn comrades by giving a social ocacsionally, how easy it would be to keep the Liberator alive. Besides such gatherings engender the most fraternal feelings among friends, at least that has been our experience here in Chicago.

Everything comes to him who lets the other fellow do the waiting.

## HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By C. L. JAMES.

A new history of the French Revolution, and a history written from a new point of view—this is in a little a characterization of a work which is exciting intelligent interest and appreciative criticism among historical scholars and readers of history in general.

It presents a point of view which entitles it to more than passing consideration.—THE PUBLIC, Chicago.

It shows ripe scholarship and a profound knowledge of the subject, which is the greatest in the history of the world. It is original and is written in Mr. James' terse, vigorous style.... For the ordinary reader it is much better than Carlyle's famous work. It is certainly most creditable to its scholarly author.—DAILY LEADER, Eau Claire, Wis.

Carlyle gave us the English of the Revolution: Thiers gave us the French of the Revolution; the conventional French. But it has remained for more modern criticism to render up the Revolution to its larger meanings. James belongs to that criticism.—THE CONSERVATOR, Philadelphia.

Printed from large, new type on good book paper, and handsomely bound in cloth; 343 pp. Price 60c, postpaid.

Moribound Society and Anarchy, translated from the French of Jean Grave by Voltarine De Cleyre. Price, post paid, 25c.

We have ordered a number of books and pamphlets from England, among them many of Kreopotkin's lectures. They will be listed in Liberator just as soon as they arrive.

## GRAND OFFER!

**Attention Comrades and Subscribers!**

### LIFE OF ALBERT R. PARSONS FREE.

Any person sending in five yearly subscribers with money ($5.00) will receive by return mail one copy of this valuable book. See ad on 4th page of this paper. Now, comrades, get to work and you will soon have a book free. Add 15c for postage.

## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE FORTSCHRITT SOCIETY.

Whereas, it has come to our knowledge that William D. Haywood and Charles Moyer, president and secretary, and E. Pettibone, all members of the Western Federation of Miners, and all citizens of the state of Colorado, were seized (kidnaped) and forcibly taken from the state of Colorado, without being allowed time to make a defense, which was in violation of their constitutional rights;

Whereas, we recognize in this illegal procedure a capitalistic conspiracy to get rid of men whom they considered dangerous to their class interest.

Resolved, Therefore, that we, the "Frauen Kranken Untershitzung Verein Fortsschritt (Ladies Sick Benefit socity—Forttschritt) enter our earnest protest against this outrage upon human liberty, and call upon all labor organizations to hold protest meetings, and by their united voice demand that justice be done, and that the above named parties be granted a fair trial, and not be convicted and railroaded to the gallows by the perjured testimony of Pinkerton thugs and other scoundrels who are simply seeking their blood money and have no other interest at heart.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung, Western Federation of Miners' Magazine, and requesting all reform journals to publist them.

Resolved, That we extend our heartfelt sympathy to the families of these our victimized brothers.

Passed by F. K. V. Forttschritt in meetings assembled February 22, 1906.

SOPHIA JACOBSEN, Pres.
HELENE ABELMAN, Sec.
Chicago, Ill.

**Subscribe for The Liberator.**

## A STORY.

By Lizzie M. Holmes in *Wood-Worker.*

There are crimes for which we imprison and hang, and consider our duty well done. We brand men as felons for stealing a few dollars or injuring a fellow being, perhaps in a fit of anger, and set them aside, a class by themselves, too low for human kindness. But there are some acts committed by good men which we do not punish by law that work more evil in the world than any petty thief or murderer could bring about. And men who grow rich by these acts are honered and respected and pointed at as examples of successful and enterprising men.

But what shall we name the conduct of those "captains of industry" who hire little children to do the work from which they reap thousands of dollars and for which the babies do not receive enough to keep them properly alive? Or of the business men who employ young girls in stores, shops and offices and do not pay them enough to feed, shelter and clothe them decently, thus forcing them to go hungry and cold or resort to an awful alternative?

Once there was a man like this whose name was Nathan Powers. For forty years he had been making money, until he had come to believe that making money was God's purpose in creating the world, and that nothing else could be of any importance. He was a thoroughly self-made man and was entitled to all the glory there is in the name. At 20 he was a poor tailor working for very ordinary wages. He scraped together a few dollars, rented a room hired a helper and took in work for himself. He rented more room in a little while, procured "slop work" from the larger firms and hired poor women to make it up for him at starvation wages and so began to make money very fast. In a few years he owned a big clothing house with branch places—"sweat shops"—in several different localities and no longer plied the needle himself. He now owned several establishments in different cities and owned the most of a big department store in his own city. Besides this, he possessed railroad stock, a bank account, several tenement houses, and all these possessions were constantly bringing him more money.

And he had not a chick nor a child as an excuse for this greedy heaping up of money. Once he had had a mother and a sweet little sister dependent upon him for support. He had been more nearly human while they lived and his heart could be touched upon occasions. But the sister whom he had loved as he had never loved other mortal, died young, worshiping and believing in her "noble brother" to the last. Soon afterward the mother passed away, and he was left alone. He then devoted himself to business—that is, to "money getting"—by various devices, legal and otherwise. He had never taken time to court and marry any women, so now at 60 he was a hard, lonely, money making machine with a rock for a heart and a dwindled share for a soul.

Yet Mr. Powers belonged to a church and signed checks for its various charities when asked to do so. It paid and he stood high in the community. He attended services occasionally and at these times the minister was careful not to say anything that could possibly hurt his feelings.

One Sunday he was asked to contribute to a project for building a home for fallen women. The promoter of this scheme was an eloquent and magnetic speaker, and, without fully realizing what it was all about, Mr. Powers wrote out a check for $500. Thinking it over afterward, he concluded he had done a very foolish thing, for he had no sympathy to waste on "fallen women"—let them take the natural consequences of their evil lives. He felt as though he had actually lost that much money and began to wonder how he could make it up in his business. He might reduce the salaries of some of the clerks—he would see about it the next day.

He was at the store quite early for him the next morning, and he made his way directly to the manager's office. The manager was an elderly man, shrewd and far-seeing, but a kindly gleam shone in his grey eyes that proved his soul was not all absorbed in busines. The two discussed several matters of business, then the manager said:

"Oh, I thought I would consult you about this—it is rather an unusual thing. It seems some of the girls on the third floor are discontented and want higher wages. They have sent in a petition—very nicely worded it is—stating their reasons for making the request and thanking us beforehand for granting it. A Miss Baryl Harrison is, no doubt, the prime mover and writer of the petition, and she appears to be a fine, spirited sort of a girl."

Mr. Powers, haughtily surprised as the king might have been when the cat looked at him, took the paper and glanced over it.

"H-m-m! Why, Mr. Garren, this seems to be entirely in your province. Why do you trouble me with it?"

"Yes, I presume it is. But I had a mind to grant their request. You see they declare they give us all their time during the daylight and that what they receive for it is not enough to feed, shelter and clothe themselves on. So if it were left to me I would give them a slight raise."

To Mr. Powers, who had come with an intention of lowering some of the salaries, this proposition was quite startling.

"Why, Mr. Garren, you made an estimate at the begining of the year on the cost of labor as well as other expenses, did you not?"

"Yes, but——"

"And you arranged the business for the year, prices, etc., on the basis of that estimate, did you not?"

"Well, you know we are often compelled to make changes in these estimates from various inevitable occurrences——"

"Has any such ocurrence come about? You have no difficulty in obtaining sufficient capable help, have you? You *can* procure tolerably good female help for from four and a half to six dollars a week and beginners two and a half dollars to three and a half, can't you?"

"Yes; there is no difficulty about that."

"Well, we'll hire them, then."

"Well, to tell the truth, it does not look well for a rich store like this to pay their employes so little that they are eventually driven into prostitution."

"Bah! If they are likely to drift into prostitution they'll drift anyway. Most of them live with their parents, who board them, and they only want their wages for pin money."

"But many do not, and many others are obliged to assist their parents."

"I say no! We can't afford a raise at this season of the year." And Mr. Powers arose to go. Mr. Garren looked troubled, but he knew it was of no use to urge the matter further. He sorrowfully went and told the young ladies the result of the interview and that their case was probably hopeless. Beryl Harrison listened to his statement with flashing eyes and curling lips.

"I shall see him myself. I shall tell him to his face that he is driving us innocent young girls to ruin."

"I fear he will not see you, said Mr. Garren.

"I'll make him see me," she said firmly, and went back to her work.

The next morning Mr. Powers again entered the store. He had ridden in his automobile and felt fresh and comfortable. He was obliged to walk the length of the floor to reach the offices, and Beryl put herself fairly across his way. He stopped in amazement at her audacity.

"Mr. Powers," she said bravely, "we, the young lady clerks in your employ, wish to ask you for a raise in wages. We give you ten of the best hours in the day, six days in the week, and have no time or strength to work more than that to earn anything extra. Yet we cannot live, and get enough to eat and suitable places to live in and dress as we must to be presentable in your store. What do you expect us to do? It canot be that you, a respectabel citizen, a good church member, a law abiding man, actually wish to drive us to degradation and crime! You are rich and could easily make these girls' lives comfortable, virtuous and happy. I wish you could see how some of us live, how pinched, how lonely and desolate, you could not have the heart to refuse our request."

Mr. Powers had been held by a kind of a spell while the girl talked to him. Her bright, courageous face, so delicate and refined yet so strong, reminded him of his loved and lost sister, and he could not speak for the omment. But he collected himself presently and said:

"That will do, Miss. Mr. Garren attends to those matters."

"But may he attend to them as he wishes?"

"You will allow me to pass, if you please. If you do not like your position and your wages you are at liberty to go elsewhere."

"Have you no heart at all?"

Mr. Powers was compelled to go around the girl, and he stalked away quite majestically. Something, however, made him look back as he reached the office door. The girl still stood in the aisle, but now her cheeks were pale and her blue eyes were full of tears. She looked so much like Lucille as she became ill; he felt an impulse to go back and take her in his arms and kiss away her grief. If only he had not declared he would not change his plans, he might be induced to—but pshaw! business was business and it would not do to allow sentiment to interfere with it.

But the man could not forget the girl nor drive away the vision of her face. That night after a good dinner when he had made himself comfortable before the fire in dressing gown and slippers, he seemed to see her standing beside him. And presently when he raised his head up to look closer, lo, the girl was real and she was his sister! And she was young and pretty and innocent as she was so many years ago. He reached out to put an arm around her with the exclamation, "Why, Lucille! Is it really you?" when she hurried away seemingly anxious about something. He apparently followed her, though she did not seem conscious of his presence, and he could not sense the motions of his own body. He followed her out into the streets, where she walked on in a weary manner. He wondered why she did not take a street car, then seemed to read her thoughts, the wish that she could do so and the necessity of saving carfare. She had 25 cents, she said to herself, and would not get her pay until the next evening, so she must make it answer for three meals at least.

(Continued next week.)

## HUMANITARIAN.

The Ohio senators were debating the question of capital punishment. The bill under discussion proposed to substitute life imprisonment for capital punishment where a person had committed murder but once. If however, a person convicted of one murder should commit a second, the offender was to be punished by death.

One senator, speaking on this bill, confessed he was in great perplexity as to how to vote, since his people were sharply divided on the matter. He said that on the previous Sabbath two clergymen of his town had preached on capital punishment, one being against and the other for it. "Now," said the senator, "I always try to vote to please both sides, and in this case I don't know how to do it."

MURDER FOR VOTES.

The senator extricated himself by voting to abolish capital punishment for the first offense and to retain it for the second. One preacher was in favor of legal murder and the other was not. The obliging senator therefore proposed to save some lives to please one preacher and to kill a few to please the other. Query: Which is the greater murderer, the man who at his own risk commits a murder to steal a purse or the senator, who, safely in the name of law, commits murder to win some votes?

TWO CITISENS FOR ONE POLITICIAN

Having disposed of this bill, another was introduced which proposed to repeal the law prescribing capital punishment for the crime of trying to take the life of high officials. But the senate had reached the limit of its magnanimity. It decided by an even division of votes to retain the present law. In the opinion of the noble senators the safety of one politicians is worth as much as the life of two citizens. That is, a man must murder two citizens before he will be executed, and he will suffer the same penalty

(Continued on Page 4.)

## LOVE, THE MEASURE OF THE VITAL ENERGIES OF A PEOPLE.

(By Max Nordau.)

(Continued from last week.)

Man's sensual selfishness pursues woman without intermission and is the more dangerous, as her most powerful instincts are his secret allies. She must not only voluntarily continue her life of solitude and wretchedness, not only struggle to escape from her strong and determined antagonist, man, who is spurred on by his passions, but she must subdue her own inclinations and put down the rebellion of her normal, natural instincts against the lies and hypocrisy of society. To emerge unharmed from such a struggle requires a heroism of which hardly one man in a thousand would be capable. And the reward of this heroism? There is none. The old maid who lives the life of a saint amid these manifold temptations finds no recompense, no assurance in her heart of hearts that she has been obeying a law of nature by her bitter, arduous life of deprivation; on the contrary, the older she gets, the louder her heart questions: "Why did I struggle? Has my victory benefited anyone? Is society with its hard, selfish maxims, worthy of the sacrifices which I offered upon the altar, my life's happiness? Would it not have been a thousand times better for me if I had yielded?" When the average girl shudders at the thought of such a fate and marries the first who enters upon her horizon on matrimonial thoughts intent, without too much scrutiny of affinities and affections, is she not right? There are chances that the life of the married woman is more pleasant than that of the old maid. But the lie acted by the bride when she marries without love does not go unavenged. She is neither a faithful wife nor a conscientious housekeeper. In her unsatisfied longing for love she listens continually to the voice of her hearts, accepts its slightest and most indistinct whispers as a hoped-for announcement of passion and throws herself into the arms of the first man who has been able to fill her empty mind for a moment. She recognizes her mistake and continues her search for the right one, sometimes closing her career by falling over the precipice into social ignominy.

Her appreciation of the incompleteness of her life and the necessity of finding the missing part, the man destined by nature to supplement her and round her existence into ocmpleteness—these impulses may reveal themselves as semi-unconscious coquetry, which impels her to dress elegantly and attend the balls and evening entertainments where she meets strange men, to test her powers of attraction upon them and to experience theirs in return. * * * She spends money without regard for the exertions of her husband. She married him so that she could live free from care.

The egotistical organization of society makes the struggle for existence unnaturally and unnecessarily difficult for the individual, consequently man does not seek love, but substantial benefits, in matrimony, and he pursues, and he pursues the heiress. The poor girl, for fear she may become an old maid, gives chase to the first eligible man she meets, who is able to support her; soon after the marriage she is discovered to be a costly article of luxury, of no possible value to the possessor, but only of unlimited outlay. Many men able to support a wife and make her happy are frightened by the spectacle of such wedded life and are deterred by it from getting married themselves. This condemns a corresponding number of girls to spinsterhood, their prospect of procuring a husband decreases, while their determination to capture one increases in proportion, and their longing to make sure of him leads them to suppress still more the longings of their hearts. Consequently man and woman become enemies, trying to steal a march upon and plunder each other. No one is satisfied, no one is happy, and the Catholic confessor and the proprietors of great dry goods establishments are the only ones who have reason to be pleased at this condition of things, as it brings them crowds of customers.

(Continued next week.)

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE ANARCHISTS' CONGRESS, HELD IN PITTSBURG, PA.

### To the Workingmen of America.

Fellow-Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"* * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force, body and soul, of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves (i. e., steal) the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e., stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths—so-called "overproductions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains. As the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-called "civilization;" as the Governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as, finally, the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society—so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production—in short, capital produced by labor—is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—be they Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, cringing, in short, want of sense. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commit, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson, "to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our outstretched brother-hands!

Proletarians from all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is **organization and unity.**

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburg Congress of the International Working Peoples' Association, on October 16, 1883.

# CORRESPONDENCE

## 1ST OF MAY INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY.

Who among us proletaires did not get a ray of hope at the result of the "Socialist Convention" held in Paris, 1889, declaring the *"First of May an international holiday"?* It was a very natural inspiration for the class conscious toilers, who, nourishing themselves with a "glimpse" of the motto "Proletaires of the world unite." Just think of it; what it does mean when all work has to cease on one day at least at the *toilers' will* around the globe!

The imagination of one day of freedom for the oppressed and exploited all over the world, met with fear and trembling by the lords and masters of the bread. With anxiety and apprehension they looked for the day when the all powerful giant "Labor" would dictate his own rights on what he produces and distributes. All the parasites were aroused to the fact that it is nothing coming to them, "since they are doing no useful work, therefore neither shall they eat." Apostle Paul had no use for parasites. That is why "the powers, by the will of God," in their histories gave them away and blaringly showed that they only possess powers by will of "our carelessness and ignorance." However, the 1st of May did not realize what was hoped for it by the toilers; politicians succeeded to cradle and mesmerize that big bay "Labor." In order that the fakirs may have an easier time of it. The leading "parliamentarly socialist dignitaries" expelled from subsequent "Conventions" the "crazy and fanatic Anarchists." The leading lights of "political conquest" conquered seats in various parliaments of Europe and solved their own social problem.

After the expulsion of Anachists from the "Zurich Convention," 1896, the Anarchist agitation was thought to be blotted out for good. The popular demand for the eight-hour work day was forgotten. Agitation for the general strike was called impossible, therefore crazy. Anti-military manifestation were declared impracticable, and so it was no use for the "voters" to bother with those problems; the congressmen will settle all these "knotty problems" in the halls of parliaments." There was no need of manifestations; the leaders will settle all troubles and disputes. It has been my lot to be a speaker on May 1, 1890, in Trieste, Austria, witnessing the tremendous enthusiasm that stirred up the hearts of proletaires present at that memorable public garden open air meeting. The masses were ready to act. Nothing was too radical for them. Anarchist literature was at a premium. I was thrilled with fervor and courage and fervor at the magnitude of the rousing display in the awakening for the manifestation of a new life and the readiness to *"take our rights"* as the creators of all wealth, was stern and impressive.

Again it was my lot to run up against indignities and ostracism which was meted out from the "party socialists" in Switzerland in consequence of my "May Day" address at the cathedral in Chaux de Fonds, 1891.

Comrades E. Pouget F. Pelloutier, C. Paulet and a few more were working hard in Paris in the early nineties to maintain the agitation for the eight hour work day and for the popular demonstration of May 1.

It was this group of men meeting at the office of the "Pere Peinard" that developed the idea of the "Bourse du Travail," and also helped to organize it into something like the "Trades Councils" in this country. The radical elements in these "councils" formed the "Federation Generale du Travail."

1900, the organization to start with was still under control of politicians. However, this organization was spatterned after the Spanish "Federacion Abrera," which is fully ten years older and is the oldest revolutionary workingmen's organization.

The I. W. W., which was organized last year in Chicago, is based also on the same principles: Class struggle, solidarity of the workers, possession and control of production, distribution and comunications by the industrial unions engaged in the respective utilities or services. Since the socialist schemers succeeded in France to grab for more graft, the radicals turned the tables in the convention at Burges two years ago, where, for the first time in the history of "organized labor," two-thirds of the delegates accepted the Anarchist method to *reach* the old popular demand: the eight hour work day on May 1, 1906, by what they call *"Direct action."*

It was decided to organize an intense agitation in favor of eight hours. Every city and village has its committee at work for organizing meetings, distributing revolutionary literature, placarding of manifestoes and other incidentals as they may happen along during this period.

The understanding is that the workmen shall go to work on May 1, but work eight hours and no more. The next day they propose to do the same thing, and in this way it is believed the eight hour day will be an established fact wherever strong enough to impose it, to the exploiters.

The strike wil be general throughout France, with the exception that in the south the farm laborers are demanding the six hour work day. The eight hours has been won one year ago. Propaganda among soldiers is considered as a most urgent necessity, and to that effect the first manifesto was published, entitled:

"TO THE RECRUITS,"

with the following clear cut passages:

"When you wil be commanded to discharge your rifles against your brothers in misery, as it has been the case in Chalon, Martinique and Limoges, workers, soldiers of tomorrow, you will not hesitate, you shall abide. You shall shoot, but not your own comrades; you will shoot those 'brutes' in human forms called officers that may dare to give you such contemptible orders."

"If you should be sent to the frontier, to defend the money bag of the capitalist class against other abused workers like yourselves, you shall not move. All war is criminal. To the order of mobilization you will answer immediately by the general strike and the insurrection. May 1, 1906 those among your comrades that are struggling against the oppression of the bosses will show their determination not to slave any longer than eight hours a day. To this occasion you will be asked to drown in blood this effort of dignity and independence of the workers. There, again, recruits, you shall refuse to play the role of policemen and proclaim full solidarity, which binds you with the manifestants."

Another manifesto was issued by the "Confederation," entitled "War Against War," with the same object—to educate the soldier not to shoot working people.

In Spain the same movement is going on. Some effort is also made in Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany and Austria to support the "French move." In this country the I. W. W. took a decision last year to stand by the international agitation, and I think that the Anarchists can very properly join their effort in the world's grandest agitation for a common roundabout attack of the capitalistic "hydra," which is fed on life and blood of the proletaires of all creeds and beliefs.

A. KLEMENSIC.

## ROLL CALL.

| | |
|---|---|
| Leo Boilon | $ .50 |
| C. H. Mackrunion | 1.00 |
| P. Trantini | .50 |
| R. Fontana | 1.00 |
| Edward Gehrs | 1.00 |
| C. H. Mackunon | 1.00 |
| Mrs. Gentis | .50 |
| Ben Morstic | .50 |
| F. Goldberg | .50 |
| N. Levin | .50 |
| A. Klemensic | .50 |
| M. Goodman | .25 |
| Martin Norbvedt | 1.00 |
| James Ellmann | .50 |
| Joseph Ratman | 1.00 |
| Joe Flowork | 1.00 |
| Mollie Hofeld | 1.00 |
| Jacob Farber | 1.00 |
| W. J. McMillan | 1.00 |
| Proceeds of Feb. 3d social till date | 13.65 |
| Social Educational Club, Lynn, Mass | 20.00 |

J. H. GREER, M. D.
52 Dearborn Street.
Office Hours, 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.
Wed. and Sat. till 8.
Sundays 9 to 12. CHICAGO
TEL. MARKET 1344

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

**The Progressive Library, 106 Forsyth St., New York City.**

The best radical literature in all modern languages, free to read. Reading room open from 11 a. m. to 11 p. m. every day in the year. The Progressive Library Group meets every Monday, and has free discussions every Thursday evening, English lectures every Sunday afternoon and Jewish lectures every Sunday evening. The lectures are accompanied by a musical entertainment.

**Lecture at Worknigmen's Hall!**

The delegate from the Russian Socialist-Revolutionist, Dr. Ch. Jetlowsky has arrived in Chicago and will give a series of interesting and scientific lectures concerning his party and other social questions.

First lecture will be given Monday eve. March 5th, at Workingmen's Hall, Cor. 12th and Woler St., on subject "Social-Revolutionist and Their Party." Second lecture on Friday eve, March 9th, at Workingmen's Hall, Cor. 12th and Waller St., on subject "Socialism and National Question."

Free discussion after each lecture. Admission, 10c.

Watch our announcements for further lectures.

**Liberator Group, New York.**

The Liberator Group of New York meets every first and third Sunday of the month at 415 Grand St., first floor, at 8 p. m sharp.

Those interested in the English propaganda are earnestly requested to come to our meetings.

**Socialist Educational Club!**

The Revolutionary Socialist Educational club will hold a meeting at Trades and Labor Union hall, 44 and 46 La Salle St., opposite tunnel, Sunday afternoon, March 4, 1906, at 3 p. m.

**Jay Fox Will Speak at Neuman's Hall.**

Jay Fox will speak before the Liberator Group Sunday, March 4th, at 2:30 p. m. Comrades, turn out, attend these meetings, and thus make of them a success. Newman's hall, 224 Blue Island avenue.

## HUMANITARIAN.

(Continued from Page 3.)

if he so much as tries to take the life of one politician.

CRIME OF NOT KILLING POLITICIANS.

This would seem to put upon the life of officials a premium not al sovereign whose life cannot be less that the common citizen is the real sovereign whose life cannot be less sacred than his servant's life. Of course it is possible to take another view. It might be argued that this law is really in the interests of good government, since it deals mercifully with the man who makes successful attempt to kill a politician, but puts him to death if he fails in the attempt. No one supported the law on precisely this ground, and the extermination of politicians did not appear to be the purpose of the measure. On the contrary, some of their senators expressed their horror of suicide.

HOW TO KILL THE POLITICIAN AND SAVE THE MAN.

A day spent in the lobby of the state legislature will be sufficient to fill the plain citizen with disgust for a system which takes boys and schemers out of obscurity and sends them to the capitol, where they give themselves supercilious airs and pay as much courtesy to a humble constituent as their conceit and their bosses will permit.

The question is, how to kill the politician and save the man and the country? Governor Folk says that the way to do it is to have the initiative and referendum. He declares that if we are to "have a government of the people by the people, the nearer it is brought to the people the better.

REV. HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

## MOSES HARMON SENT TO PRISON.

Just as we go to press we learn that Moses Harmon has been sent to the penitentiary, to serve one year at hard labor for sending "obscene literature" throug the mails.

# BOOKS

**We request our readers to read carefully our book list, and if there are any books which you care for, just order from Liberator and they will be forwarded at once. Remember the price of the book and postage must be sent with each order. The books and pamphlets that we list can all be relied upon as standard works of real educational value. We will add to our list from time to time until we have a most complete list of standard works. By ordering from us you will be assisting in the continuation of The Liberator.**

Loves Coming of Age ..... Edward Carpenter $1.00

### THE BOOKS OF CLARENCE S. DARROW.

**Resist Not Evil.**

Fourteen chapters on the subject of non-resistance.

12mo, cloth, 179 pages, 75 cents, postpaid.

It is a startling arraignment of the doctrines of force and punishment.—St. Paul Pioneer Press.

It will come very close to being a classic.—Denver Post.

**A Persian Pearl.**

A volume of essays and literary interpretations. Contents: A Persian Pearl (The Rubaiyat), Walt Whitman, Robert Burns, Realism in Literature and Art, The Skeleton in the Closet.

Large 12mo, cloth and ornamental boards, 160 pages, on high grade deckle edge paper, $1.50, postpaid.

Their high literary merit and charming style render them worth reading, even by those who disagree fundamentally with Mr. Darrow's philosophy.—Chicago Record-Herald.

**Farmington.**

An Idyl of Boyhood.

12mo, cloth, 277 pages, $1.50, postpaid.

The book is very charming, and in much very true. Not a man who has been a real country boy, or who has been cheated by his elders (always with the best motives) of being all the boy he might have been, but, if he has grown up to be ripe enough, will seem to find himself again in many of Mr. Darrow's pages. Our impression is that Mr. Darrow has shown real art in the handling of one of the most difficult forms of literature.—The New York Times Saturday Review.

**An Eye for an Eye.**

The story of a murder and its penalty, told in the murderer's own words to a friend who sits up with him in prison the night before his hanging. A striking and forceful narrative.

12mo, cloth, 213 pages, $1.50, postpaid.

**The Open Shop.**

A thorough discussion and defense of the demand of trade unionism for the closed shop.

16mo, paper, 32 pages, 10 cents, postpaid; one dozen, 85 cents; one hundred, $5.00.

**Realism in Literature and Art.**

An Essay.

16mo, paper, 32pages, 5 cents, postpaid; one dozen, 50 cents, postpaid.

**Crime and Criminals.**

An address delivered to the prisoners in the Chicago county jail.

### "TOKOLOGY"

**By Alice B. Stockham, M. D.**

500 pages, bound in silk cloth, maroon and gold.

Prepaid ..... $2.25
Full leather ..... 2.75

**Tokology** demonstrates that the ailments of pregnancy can be prevented, while the suffering and danger from childbirth may be avoided.

It gives simple but explicit directions for the entire time of gestation, and the management of the woman during and after confinement.

**The Book for the Hour!**

### THE COST OF SOMETHING FOR NOTHING

**By John P. Altgeld.**

"Reveals a strong man at his mental best."—Chicago Tribune.

Dealing fearlessly with recent social, business and political developments, the late Governor of Illinois warns those who enter the spirit of modern business speculation and political corruption that there is a moral law which will exact swift and fearful retribution from those who transgress it.

At this time, when multitudes are intent on getting something for nothing, these words of a statesman and a philosopher should not pass unheeded.

**12mo, cloth, gilt top. Price, $1.00 postpaid.**

### LIVE QUESTIONS

**By John P. Altgeld.**

The final, complete and authoritative collection of Altgeld's papers, speeches and interviews, with his messages to the legislature of Illinois, and statements of the facts which influenced his course as Governor on several famous occasions. The questions discussed are of vital interest to humanity, and as much so today as when Altgeld lived. The book is a valuable record of the public career of one of the greatest and most far-sighted of American Governors, and should be in every library.

**8vo, cloth, illustrated, 1,009 pages, with index, $1.50; by mail, $1.78.**

### A GREAT INIQUITY

**By Leo Toltsoy**

**An Article on Property in Land**

(Reprinted from The London Times.)

Popular edition paper, 48 pages, 5½ x 3, 4 cents a copy, postpaid; 100 copies to one address, $2.25—to varying addresses, $3.50—postpaid.

Illustrated edition, paper cover, 48 pages, 8½ x 3¾, 10 cents a copy, postpaid; 12 copies for $1.00, postpaid.


# LIFE OF
# Albert R. Parsons

SECOND EDITION

With A History of the Labor Movement in America

Also sketches of the lives of his fellow victims, together with a full and accurate description of the Haymarket meeting.

**READ THIS ACCOUNT OF A DIABOLICAL CONSPIRACY OF CAPITALISTS:**

"A surprisingly temperate and strong presentation of evidence showing that Parsons was a victim of popular furore. The figure of Parsons walking into Court of his own free will, and there condemned to death under unusual circumstances, has dramatic interest which will serve to keep the book alive."—Chicago Record Herald, Feb. 10, 1905.

"The hanging of the Anarchists in Chicago is now sufficiently a matter of history to permit its discussion without the heat of prejudice that a frightened capitalist press had thrown upon it at the time of its occurrence. The pardon of Governor Altgeld, with his reasons for granting it, which are included in this work, has shown with absolute certainty that the men who were hanged upon that November day in 1887 were murdered for no other reason than because victims were needed to frighten the working class back into humble submission.*** It shows beyond doubt that the present ruling class will stop at nothing in their endeavors to terrorize those who threaten their rulership.*** The tremendous and terrible facts that are told in this book reach a dramatic height that thrills and enthralls the reader."—International Socialist Review, July 1, 1904.

A BEAUTIFUL CLOTH BOUND 353 OCTAVE PAGE BOOK, ARTISTICALLY ILLUSTRATED, PRICE $1.25. BOUND IN HALF MOROCCO, $1.75.

Every thinker and student should have this book in their possession

Order Direct from the Publisher

**Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons**
1777 N. Troy St., - - CHICAGO, ILL.


# COMRADES, FELLOW WORKERS, FRIENDS,

Please fill out the following subscription blank and forward to us just as soon as you possibly can:—

To Liberator Publishing Group,
466 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.

I hereby subscribe to The Liberator for the term of one year from date hereof at the rate of one dollar per year.

Signed .....

Street No. .....

City or Town .....

State .....

Date .....190....

**Comrades, On you depends the existence of "LIBERATOR."**